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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1875



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30 April 1981

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MARCH 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Mar 81 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36, No 3, March 1981, signed to press 9 Feb 81, pp 209-321: "Where Research Serves Man." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] For the first time in history the social ownership of the means of production under socialism makes it possible to use to the fullest extent the gains of science and technology in the interest of the working people. Without restrictive private interests, without competing monopolies and without people losing their jobs, the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution are being employed in a planned and profitable manner, whereas in the capitalist countries the monopoly bourgeoisie abuses the considerable scientific potential at its command to score maximum profits at the expense of the working people, and to retain and strengthen its power positions. This assertion is made by Karl-Heinz Graupner and Wolfgang Salecker in the article titled, "Science and Technology in the Class Struggle," published in the March issue of EINHEIT. The authors explain by examples why in the competition with imperialism in the field of scientific-technical progress, socialism fundamentally and in the long run possesses the better positions.

In another contribution, Harry Nick underscores our constructive, optimistic attitude toward scientific-technical progress. Claus Grote deals with cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in basic research. The fact that the GDR Academy of Sciences is able to draw up a successful balance sheet for the Tenth SED Congress is due to a considerable extent to the close research cooperation with the fraternal countries, particularly with the Soviet Union. The author emphasizes the need further to intensify this cooperation and to accelerate the transfer of research results into practice.

In another article, Horst Bartel deals with our view of historical heritage, the cultivation of progressive traditions and the requirements which the 1980's are leveling on GDR history studies. Finally Guenter Nobel takes issue with imperialism's neocolonialist pursuit of raw material resources.

CSO: 2300/191

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 3, Mar 81 signed to press 9 Feb 81  
'Resumes' addendum

Science and Technology in the Class Struggle

[Summary of feature article on 'Scientific-Technical Progress and Society,' by Dr Karl-Heinz Graupner, economist, SED Central Committee; and Prof Dr Wolfgang Salecker, economist, group director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; pp 218-225. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] While taking issue with bourgeois conceptions and with reference to realities, it is being shown how contradictory scientific-technical progress is in capitalism. Science and technology have become a decisive field of international class conflict. It is all the more important in socialist countries to mobilize all potentials for strengthening and gaining leading positions in science and technology, insure a high rate of economic growth, mainly through scientific-technical progress, and organize scientific-technical, economic and social progress in unity.

West German Commentary on Graupner/Salecker Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 34/35, 4-5 Mar 81 p 4

[Report from Berlin: "SED Warns Against Underestimating Scientific Progress in West"]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 3, 1981) has called a "fatal mistake the recurrent claims" in Eastern media that in large parts of the capitalist economy the tempo of scientific-technical progress was slowing down. That meant underestimating the scientific-technical potential, the specialists available and the efficient industrial base of the West. For in Western corporations attaining scientific-technical top achievements, the use of all resources for accelerating scientific-technical progress and the rapid transfer of its data directly into production had

become a predominant feature of enterprise policy. And it was to be expected that in the conflict between the two world systems the struggle for leading positions in science and technology would further intensify in the future. That applied primarily to microelectronics, production automation, the tapping of new energy sources and the creating of new working materials. Even in view of the lead the West holds in these areas, the journal expressed the "conviction" that socialism had available "fundamentally and in the long run the better positions."

#### Modern Technology For or Against Man's Benefit

[Summary of feature article on 'Scientific-Technical Progress and Society,' by Prof Dr Harry Nick, economist, research program director, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 226-233]

[Text] The general political and sociopsychological climate in the socialist countries is defined by a constructive and optimistic attitude toward scientific-technical progress. That, on the basis of social conditions, results from social experience as from a growing understanding of its potentials. While taking issue with bourgeois theses that technology would generally lead to an increasing dependency of man on opaque technical systems that would turn him into a machine-part, have power over man, be authoritarian and so forth, the article explains its social character and demonstrates that only socialism is able to create a technology at a "human measure."

#### Cooperation With USSR in Basic Research

[Summary of feature article on 'Scientific-Technical Progress and Society,' by Prof Dr Claus Grote, general secretary, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 234-239. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "GDR-USSR Cooperation in Basic Research Analyzed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] International socialist research cooperation has significantly contributed to the successful balance-sheet of the research by the GDR Academy of Sciences. Its centerpiece has been and is the close cooperation with the scientists from Lenin's land, with the immense research potential of the Soviet Union. It has led to the development of new research fields and many top achievements in basic research. What efforts have to be made to further intensify this cooperation? How can through a faster and broader use of results the effectiveness of basic research be further elevated?



## For Large-Scale Application of Research and Development

[Summary of feature article on 'Scientific-Technical Progress and Society,' by Prof Dr Siegfried Schiller, deputy director, Manfred von Ardenne Research Institute; pp 240-244. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "New Approach, Greater Risk-Taking in Research, Production Urged," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Meeting the great challenge to our country's scientists in the present and future also means a more favorable cost/benefit ratio in research. From his own experience, the author thinks it especially important to produce a creative atmosphere in the collectives, give a greater encouragement to risk-taking, and use all opportunities for properly combining and interlinking all levels in R&D. It mainly depends on a scientist's will and correct political attitude to produce high social benefits.

## Motivating Forces of Socialist Work

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harald Schliwa, deputy director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 256-263]

[Text] It is an important management task to release the impulses for socialist work that are inherent in socialism and to use them for developing a high performance willingness among all working people. Which impulses mainly are to be made effective? What role do ideological insights and motivations play in them, and which conclusions result from it for our ideological work?

## Cultivation and Continuation of Revolutionary Traditions by Youth

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Karl Heinz Jahnke, director, History Department, Wilhelm Pieck University, Rostock; pp 264-271]

[Text] History propaganda and cultivating our tradition are an element of the FDJ's mass-political work. By means of facts it is being shown that the encounter with history, especially the preserving of the revolutionary traditions of the workers class, helps youth appropriate communist characteristics and modes of behavior, expressed mainly by exemplary achievements and in the protection of socialism. Dealing with the birth and growth of the GDR deepens the realization that it is the culmination of the century-old struggle by the progressive forces of the German people for social progress.



## Mongolian People's Proven Marxist-Leninist Vanguard

[Summary of article by Sampilin Jalan-Aajab, Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party; written on occasion of 60th anniversary of Mongolian People's Revolution, to be celebrated 11 July 1981, and of Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party, 1 March 1981; pp 279-285]

[Text] Under the leadership of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party the Mongolian people in the last 60 years has changed once backward feudal Mongolia successfully into a socialist state with a dynamically developing industry and agriculture. Decisive stages in the struggle for enforcing the MPRP course toward the construction of socialism while bypassing the capitalist phase of development. The party's tasks in preparation of the approaching 18th party congress.

## Cuba--Symbol of Freedom in Western Hemisphere

[Summary of article by Edgar Fries and Walter Neumann, social scientists, SED Central Committee sector chief and political researcher, respectively; pp 286-291]

[Text] The balance-sheet drawn up objectively and critically at the Second Cuban Communist Party Congress on the impressive successes in social development since 1975 and the prospects for the next 5 years. The Cuban people's struggle, led by its CP and in the immediate vicinity of the chief imperialist power, for further advances in socialist construction and the foreign policy tasks issued by the party congress in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity.

## Imperialism in Pursuit of Raw Material Resources

[Summary of article by Guenter Nobel, economist; pp 292-300]

[Text] Hunting for raw material sources and the effort to dominate them are a component of overall imperialist strategy aimed at securing maximum monopoly profits and enforcing global hegemonial designs. In this, imperialism "supplements" its more flexible neocolonialist approach, marked mainly by the efforts of international corporations and direct economic and political state intervention, by undisguised gunboat politics. Its policy for securing raw materials is incompatible with the interests of the developing countries and endangers peace. All anti-imperialist forces have to be united in opposition to it.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEFENSE MINISTER HOFFMANN'S MEMOIRS PUBLISHED

Official SED Review

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 3, Mar 81 signed to press 9 Feb 81 pp 310-313

[Review of Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann's memoir, "Mannheim--Madrid--Moskau," published by Militaerverlag, East Berlin, 1981; by Prof Dr Ernst Diehl, member, SED Central Committee; deputy director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED CC; chairman, GDR Council for History Studies: "...Forever Where the Red Banner Waves!"]

[Text] "What my mother and grandparents instilled in me in my youth mainly, however, was the awareness: You are a worker's son and need not be ashamed of it but be proud of it! This basic attitude was very important for my later way through life--mainly when I had to make independent decisions. Much became easier for me because of it, simply through knowing from my childhood: You belong to the workers class, and your place is forever where the red banner waves!" (p 52) This way Comrade Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR Minister for National Defense, describes his personal positions in his just published memoirs which may be called the political starting point of his life.

In his book, Comrade Hoffmann reports about the first three decades of his life, his childhood and youth, how he became a communist and exercised his first functions, his participation in the antifascist struggle inside and outside of Germany, the battles of the workers class, fitness tests passed in party ranks and the irrevocable life experiences gained thereby.

As he mentions in his preface, Comrade Heinz Hoffmann was mainly induced by questions from young people--soldiers, pioneer and FDJ groups, Lenin pioneers and consomol members--to recall those periods in his life and report on them in writing. He tells of his experiences factually and with all their problems in a vivid language and with intelligible arguments and thereby supplies answers that are stimulating in their content and form, suggest ideas and also spark emotions and ought to encounter appropriate response, and this not only among young readers. These are answers that contribute to the clarification of topical issues and help reinforce intellectual positions of socialism.

Comrade Hoffmann describes the early phases of a combative course that turned him into a leading functionary of our victorious Marxist-Leninist party and our socialist German workers and farmers state. Embedded in the hard and sacrificial struggle of the revolutionary German proletariat against imperialism, fascism and war, he treats those decades in which his personality and world-outlook formed in tough class struggles and he opted for good for taking his road amidst communist ranks. This plane always is maintained, even when he judges from the level of experiences gained later, the plane of a young worker who seeks and finds the right way, of the revolutionary fighter and functionary maturing in and with the party.

In conformity with his life, the description almost consistently comes out of the view of revolutionary party work at the base, be it under the conditions of the Weimar Republic or in illegal antifascist struggle. These are experiences and events of ordinary proletarian class struggle and party work, experiences and events with which, fundamentally in the same way, countless communists, class-conscious workers and other working people were confronted. Comrade Hoffmann describes his revolutionary development in its unique way, concretely and unmistakably, but also as a path he followed side by side with many others. He talks about tasks and problems with which he had to come to grips as much as many of his fellow-combatants. It is made intelligible what the party means--for the class and for the individual--, and universal experiences and lessons of the working class struggle for socialism become vivid. Because these general insights are always explained with reference to the author's revolutionary practice and his cognitive process, their treatment is so fresh and convincing.

Roughly half of the book is devoted to Heinz Hoffmann's childhood and youth, the entry of the worker's son and young metal worker into the communist youth association and the KPD, his active participation in the revolutionary class struggle since the mid-1920's to the end of the Weimar Republic. It stands out clearly how strongly he was molded by the proletarian milieu at home, the influence from parents and grandparents, and his growing up amongst the workers in the industrial city of Mannheim. And it becomes clear what the capitalist society of the Weimar Republic has to offer to a worker's son like him. Like innumerable others in his class, he experiences exploitation, discrimination and outlawry. Not yet 18 years old, just after having concluded his specialist's training at the Mannheim Motor-works, he becomes unemployed himself.

Life circumstances and influences around him, childhood impressions from the class clashes of the November revolution and the revolutionary postwar crisis impress him permanently with the implacable contrast between poor and rich and the injustice of the prevailing order and arouse in him, and in others like him, sympathies for the revolutionaries, those that rebel against that kind of a world, and the desire to follow in their tracks. His mother and grandfather tell him stories about Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, others tell him of the victory of the workers and peasants in Russia. Rudimentary class consciousness and an active attitude in life, into which he has grown from his childhood, in 1925 lead him into the communist youth association, into the proletariat's organized revolutionary struggle against its enemies.

The reader learns of the activity of the Mannheim young communists. In their ranks, Heinz Hoffmann experiences for the first time a great political operation as a participant of the campaign against indemnities for royalty, initiated and conducted by the KPD. He assumes his first functions in his group and learns to contend in harsh conflict for political communist positions in public, usually in a hostile atmosphere. In a Marxist circle, together with contemporaries, he gradually enters the world of ideas of the "Communist Manifesto" and some other works by Marx, Engels and Lenin. However important those steps were--the author always deals with them in a well balanced manner. He brings out how much for him--as well as for his comrades--this was a learning process, a struggle for deeper political knowledge, for effectively applying communist policy, extracting its own unavoidable tuition and with not a few reversals that had to be surmounted.

Altogether, in writing down his memoirs, Comrade Hoffmann sees to it that he accurately and reliably explains the conditions for the struggle at the time to readers of today, whereby to facilitate independent judgment. He has exploited much literature and other sources for it, making them serviceable to his presentation. He describes--to mention but one example--the Land of Baden as it was at the time with its concrete social, political and cultural conditions. The author's statements on the political and organizational development of the KPD party organization in that territory, even if of course only sketched, offer many interesting suggestions for the work on the party history that transcend their immediate purpose.

In retrospect Comrade Hoffmann answers the question what had induced him, not yet 20 years of age, to rebel against the misery for which capitalism was to be blamed and the distress it had caused and to continue on the revolutionary path once taken: "The main reason was that I had duties, that the youth association and, later, the party assigned tasks and responsibility to me, and that the activity as a communist functionary gave substance and purpose to my life. I knew where I belonged, had firm support, was not alone. And that meant extremely much especially in those heavy times." (p 113)

In the account of the last years of the Weimar Republic, the tasks and problems of the German communists' antifascist struggle more and more become the focal point. As innumerable other fellow-combatants, Comrade Hoffmann assumes more responsible tasks to save the German workers class and our people from the barbarism of fascism. As a functionary of the party as well as of the Communist Youth Society of Germany, he is in Mannheim, working on orders from the district executive but also in rural areas of Baden, seeking to affiliate communists, social democrats, unaffiliated workers and working farmers in joint struggle in order to go into an offensive against the brutal fascist terror as well as the national and social demagoguery of the Nazis.

Comrade Hoffman reports about many impressive events in that struggle which he combines with personal experiences such as the resolute antifascist avowal of Pastor Erwin Eckert and his demonstrative entry into the KPD. But this becomes most impressive in the way he describes Ernst Thaelmann's appearance in Mannheim in March 1932 and the strong upsurge of the "Antifascist Action" movement initiated by the party there also. At the same time the author impressively explains why these great efforts of the KPD and other German antifascists failed at the time. By



specific references to events in Baden, he is able to provide evidence for the capitulation by right-wing social democratic and trade union leaders to fascism and the heavy debt they incurred thereby.

In further sections of his book, Heinz Hoffman describes experiences on various frontline sectors of the KPD's struggle against fascist German imperialism between 1933 and 1941. About what enabled the communists and their allies, despite all brutal persecution and frequently facing death, to conduct the antifascist resistance struggle, he says: "But we had grown into the class struggle and now could not and would not betray the cause of the workers class. It was characteristic of the antifascists in those years that their cares and their struggle for the future of their people meant more to them than their own well-being, that they spared themselves nothing, time and time again overcame themselves and did not give up, defying the fascists even in an almost hopeless situation." (pp 203-204)

Comrade Hoffmann illuminates the great difficulties and problems that came with the party's converting to the conditions of illegal struggle. With all the heavy losses fascist terror inflicted on the KPD, the Nazis are unable to eliminate the party and prevent its working for the interests of the people. In a responsible position, finally as the organizational chief of the illegal district management of Baden's KPD, Heinz Hoffmann in 1933 and 1934 has a share in making the party organizations continue their work in illegality or having new ones set up and in retying contacts that were broken, so that here also, in line with the party's general line, the beginnings of a united front with the social democrats emerge.

In 1935, Heinz Hoffmann's responsibilities change. Obeying party resolutions, he illegally leaves Germany and goes to the Soviet Union to study at the International Lenin School. His memoirs bring out the unchanged topical realization that the bonds with the Soviet Union, holding up even under the most difficult conditions, belong among the characteristic features of any communist. These were his own experiences, hardened in the class struggle against imperialism and fascism, and it was the school of Ernst Thaelmann, which had countless German communists like Comrade Heinz Hoffman consistently act according to that realization from early years on. Now he had the opportunity to form a picture in situ of the practice of real socialism as it existed on one sixth of the earth. His account gives an idea of the deep impressions his first personal encounter with Lenin's land and the Soviet people made on him. This is the time when the Seventh Comintern World Congress prepares the general line of the communist world movement for the struggle against fascism and war and decides on that line. Together with other students of the Lenin school, he can attend congress sessions as a guest and experiences personally the appearance of many outstanding representatives of the CPSU and of other fraternal parties. In the Soviet land he gets his first opportunity to familiarize himself thoroughly and cohesively with the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and with fundamental experiences of the international revolutionary workers movement.

The struggle for the defense of the Spanish republic against fascism becomes for countless communists and other antifascists from many countries another testing ground. In those years the events on Spanish soil obtain a key position in the worldwide struggle between the forces of fascism and antifascism. Here the struggle against fascism must be fought mainly with weapon in hand, that is in military form.

Comrade Hoffman describes how he and many like him now came to conform to the new requirements for military struggle which the class struggle had placed on the agenda. He familiarizes the reader with his work as officer in the 11th International Brigade, as commissar in the Hans Beimler battalion. Most vividly the strength of proletarian internationalism can be sensed, finding moving expression in the concerted struggle of communists and other antifascists from various countries against their common enemy. Without pathos but impressively, examples are given of the revolutionary fighting spirit, bravery and determination in the struggle of the interbrigadiers alongside the Spanish people. The toughness of the struggle is realistically described and so are the problems, even those which for various reasons could then not be resolved. The retrospect over more than four decades indicates how Heinz Hoffmann fulfilled his military mission at the time--in service to his class, as a communist and internationalist--, advancing resolutely along the revolutionary path for which he had opted in early years.

These memoirs enrich the memoir literature of our country. An individual history renders vivid essential traditions molding our revolutionary party, our socialist German state and its armed forces. In their way these memoirs explain much on which the policy of our party, allied with the people, its effectiveness, and its implacability to any enemies of our cause are based. Vivid becomes here what steels communists and what proclaims the invincibility of their and our cause.

#### West German Review

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 8 Apr 81 p 8

[Ernst-Otto Maetke review of memoirs of Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, GDR minister for national defense, "Mannheim--Madrid--Moskau, Erlebtes aus drei Jahrzehnten" (Mannheim--Madrid--Moscow, Experiences of Three Decades), published by Militaerverlag der DDR, 238 pages, 11.50 (East) marks: "The Memory Gaps of General Hoffmann: He Completely Ignored Stalin's Purges and the Terror in Spain"]

[Text] A few months after Honecker's memoirs another leading member of the SED is presenting a volume of memoirs. Purportedly of three decades, but actually it is only a little more than one and a half--from the mid-1920's to the beginning of the German campaign against Russia--about which the GDR minister for defense is reporting relevant matters. The first half of this time frame, summarized under the title "Mannheim," is something he admittedly remembers but vaguely. "Faded in the course of years," he had his memory brushed up by the party college director, among others, and the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee. He himself tells us how his mother brought him up in class consciousness and gave him "Das Kapital" by Marx for his 16th birthday, with the remark he should read the chapter on surplus value slowly and attentively. He also tells us how the later public education minister of the GDR, Wandel, recruited him for the communist youth association in Mannheim.

But he not even clearly remembers an early meeting with today's SED chief Honecker, who quite distinctly recalls that day in August 1933: "In Mannheim I met Heinz Hoffmann, machinist and active young communist, who later would take part in the liberation struggle of the Spanish people and today is SED Politburo member, army general and GDR Minister for National Defense." Elsewhere too Honecker has the better memory.

Hoffmann's first years in Moscow, 1935 to 1937, make up the most revealing part of the book because they tell us most about him. As a student at the International Lenin School he did not notice in any way that the Stalinist purges began to rage nor that the German emigrants, housed in the Comintern Hotel Lux at the time, almost died with fear. And rarely he claims he met anyone who would later perish or disappear in these purges. And when he actually mentions a contact with a prominent purge victim, as for instance the KPD Politburo member Hermann Schubert, he speaks so disapprovingly of him that the reader is to be clearly informed it could not have come to a good end with that man. As to Honecker, he at least reports he had met Radek and Max Hoels and says of the former that "not only his wit but also his personality" had impressed him. The latter he calls "the legendary figure of many class struggles in Central Germany." That reads better.

Hoffmann always mixed with the right people in Moscow--his fellow students Mielke, Waldemar Verner and Hanna Wolf--all now SED top functionaries--and with paratroop agent Albert Hoessler, who perished in World War II in Germany. Of the fate of the latter he claims to have learned nothing until 1970--he had been sent as replacement radio operator to the Berlin group of the Red Chapel and shared its destiny--, although already in the mid-1950's there was much to read about Hoessler in David Dallin's book, "Soviet Espionage." Hoffmann has not only memory gaps but information gaps as well.

All the more clearly he recalls Stalin however--the Stalin of the purge years. He thoroughly studied his writings and speeches, including the "Brief Course on the History of the CPSU." But the most wonderful thing for Hoffmann must have been to have seen Stalin himself, at the opening of the 1935 Comintern World Congress or somewhat later at closer range still during a reception of youth functionaries. "I was very proud of having spoken with Stalin himself." A reader will believe that without any trouble.

Hoffmann's report on the Spanish Civil War, into which he was dispatched after two and a half months of military training as a brandnew lieutenant and superior officer, follows the same line. Again he noticed nothing of the application of Moscow's purge excesses and methods to republican Spain and, especially, the fighters in the International Brigades. That Moscow's communist leadership claim was enforced on the republican side with the most disgusting means he judges exactly in inverse order: "traitors" had wanted to confine the communist influence. Today's SPD Chairman Brandt recorded from his Spanish experience at the time: "The communists shun no means to achieve the leadership monopolization they want. The methods of maligning their proletarian opponents, of agitation and blind terror against them, threaten to poison the whole international workers movement once again." That is the way it was.

Understandably, it is very important to Hoffmann that he only fought as a brave soldier in Spain. For battles in which he took part as the war commissar of an international battalion he supplies precise map outlines and long extracts from the division's war diary. He also reports in detail about his heavy wound. That the reader is supposed to accept as evidence for his not having participated in the intrigues of the communist intelligence services in Spain. In Paris and Moscow he was then cured by top physicians. On the Crimea he recovered splendidly. It is a shame he has his memoirs end in June 1941. It would be nice to know what of the next decade and a half--up to the official founding of the GDR's NVA--has been retained in his memory and what has been repressed.



## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### SOCIALIST CONCEPTION OF GERMAN HISTORICAL HERITAGE ANALYZED

#### West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 36, 6 Mar 81 pp 2-3

[Report from Berlin: "SED for a More Differentiated Evaluation of German History." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 3, 1981) has called for a more differentiated and precise evaluation of German history. It conformed with the ideological function of historical research in the GDR "to explore the whole historical heritage." A more comprehensive view on the history of the German people was necessary to reach a new development level of the GDR conception of history. It also included the presentation of "contradictory historic personalities" whose work was to be explored objectively and free from any euphemisms and one-sidedness in the terms of their times, without overlooking their "class-conditioned limitations." EINHEIT underscored this was not a "fundamental reevaluation" or simply a "revalidation" of rulers and ruling classes. An attitude toward history, rather, should always be governed by "secure, party-minded class positions."

#### GDR Historian's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 3, Mar 81 signed to press 9 Feb 81 pp 272-278

[Article by Prof Dr Horst Bartel, member, GDR Academy of Sciences; director of the Academy's Central Institute for History: "Historical Heritage and Tradition." Translations of articles cited in footnotes below are published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: Footnote 4--EINHEIT No 12, 1978 article, "Historic Development of Socialist Traditions Analyzed," 72782, 7 Feb 79, No 1644, pp 15-24; footnote 6--EINHEIT No 12, 1980 article, "Conflicting GDR, FRG Approaches to National Culture Stressed," 77514, 5 Mar 81, No 1854, pp 77-85. For additional references to items of related information see translation of an article by Prof Ernst Diehl, chairman, GDR Council for History Studies, published under the heading, "New Goals Set for Marxist-Leninist Historiography," in JPRS 77514, 5 Mar 81, No 1854 of this series, pp 68-76]

[Text] The continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the formation of the socialist German nation in the GDR require, through a confrontation in terms of principle with imperialist and social reformist accounts of history and on the basis of our scientific world-outlook, through party-mindedness and from the positions of the victorious workers class in our country, facing the entire legacy of the history of the German people in all its contradictoriness and further exploring, vividly preserving and extending the whole wealth of the GDR traditions.

The continued shaping of the developed socialist society--which includes an ever stronger development of the socialist nation in the GDR--under working class leadership and in alliance with all working classes and strata is a process of penetrating social and intellectual-cultural changes. They also make possible and require an increasingly comprehensive, richer and more creative-critical relationship with all that our people and mankind have created in all their history in progressive ideals, material and cultural values, beauty and poetry. That is why our party and state leadership have devoted special attention recently to the problems of heritage and tradition. Where do these deliberations, which call for new requirements, stem from?

Socialism is the legitimate heir to everything revolutionary, progressive and humanistic in all of German history. The socialist GDR "embodies the continuity of all the good" and "the radical break with everything reactionary" in German history.<sup>1</sup> Developing the socialist German nation implies ever more comprehensively disclosing and bringing into consciousness its deep roots in the past and making them fruitful for the present and future. It means facing the entire legacy of German history in all its contradictoriness and disclosing, preserving and extending all the wealth in the traditions of the GDR. In this sense, Comrade Erich Honecker has stressed: "It conforms with our world picture to account for history in its objective, actual course, in all its dialectics."<sup>2</sup> To us Marxist-Leninists this confrontation with our historic heritage is no one-time or trend-incurred act but a permanent and vital process closely accompanying our social development and answering to its needs and requirements.

In the GDR's current developmental phase the relations between the workers class and the other classes and strata in our society are developing further. Social rapprochement processes are under way which also alter the political relationship and the conceptual relations between the classes and strata. The grown social, political and historic experiences of the citizens in our state also give rise to new, more differentiated and extensive needs for historic knowledge and historically sound convictions. And also this has to be taken into account: The longer the GDR has its own history, the greater the number of citizens growing up who no longer know from their own experience the antifascist-democratic transformation and the period when the foundations of socialism were laid, no longer even the beginnings in the shaping of our developed socialist society. They learn about that development only by way of

acquiring historical knowledge. Moreover, this growing generation is confronted with direct class struggle in an essentially different manner, chiefly as the external development condition for socialism. Through the establishment of the GDR and the construction of socialism the radical break was made with the reactionary past of German history as with all forms of reactionary, anti-progress ideologies. Socialist ideology rules in our republic. All this makes it necessary and possible today to differentiate in what we say about our heritage and tradition without prejudicing in any way, while doing so, any positions we have gained.

In the intensifying confrontation between socialism and imperialism, ideological problems, including ideological problems concerning history, are assuming increasingly greater importance. And thus our historical heritage and tradition becomes subject to ever more vehement ideological confrontation with bourgeois-imperialist, particularly also with social reformist, ideology and historiography. In their hatred against socialism and against the blossoming of the socialist German nation, the ideologues of imperialism and social reformism in the FRG unconscionably falsify history and seek to misrepresent the GDR as something unhistorical and ignore its indissoluble rooting in German history. They are denying the GDR's objectively historic role as the legitimate heir to all that is progressive in German history so as to disguise, by abusing progressive traditions, the historic obsolescence of German imperialism and to be able to make the history of the German people serviceable to its aggressive big power interests. Properly to rebuff that sort of manipulated, unscientific conception of history in the worldwide struggle for peace and security is among the most important tasks of GDR historical science. A more differentiated approach to our historic legacy, still more penetrating and all-round valid evidence that our socialist fatherland is the culmination, the inevitable outcome of the century-old struggle of the German people against suppression and exploitation, can make a contribution here that is by no means insignificant.

Finally, among the altered conditions under which the legacy problems have to be viewed today there also is an aspect of historic science: Our longtime successful development of Marxist-Leninist historiography in the GDR, in close cooperation with the historians of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries, has raised the state of knowledge, the research potentials and the possibilities for disseminating historical knowledge onto a qualitatively higher plane. From science development itself and its close interaction with the social practice of our state and party, new theoretical and methodological problems and new research subjects have arisen that broaden our view and make possible and require more differentiated research and presentation methods. Here we should principally refer to the advances GDR historiography has made especially since the eighth and ninth SED congresses, crystallizing in conferences, in sound compendia such as the "German History Outline" and particularly in the "SED History Outline," the Ernst Thaelmann biography, and other comprehensive surveys or specialized monographs.

#### Heritage and Tradition

What now in particular are the new demands in critically coping with our entire historic legacy and in further opening up our historic traditions?

The overall problematics of heritage and tradition comprises the relationship of the workers class, its party and the society it leads to the overall history of the people and the historic premises from which it evolved. In accordance with the Marxist-Leninist understanding of history, "all German history" includes the complexity, forms and variety of the class confrontations, the work of all classes and strata in its overall chronological course as well as the inevitable sequence of forms of society on the territory and within the ethnic framework of the German people. In this sense then the GDR is the outcome of the whole process of history within this space-time continuum.

The historical heritage includes--to quote Marx--"the immediately encountered, given and handed-on circumstances,"<sup>3</sup> that is the materially given heritage as well as the totality of historically developed and past economic, social, political, ideological and cultural relations, the attitudes of diverse classes and strata and of their representatives and agents, and the ideas and cultural achievements. The concept of heritage thus embraces everything existing in history, all our history in all its contradictoriness. This heritage we have to face, we cannot make it undone but have to cope with it critically.

Opening up all our historical heritage conforms with the demands of the ideological function of historic research and historiography. Its purpose is to explain not only the contradictoriness but also the objectivity of the historical process, form the image of history as a component of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, and convey the lessons of history--both the positive and negative ones. From the party-minded relationship of the workers class and the socialist society with the heritage of history results the resolute break with the legacy of the exploiter society, especially with the fateful residues of imperialism. In this sense then the GDR is the outcome of the resolute break with the reactionary class line in German history.

On the other hand, among our historical tradition or our image of tradition only those lines of historic development, phenomena and facts belong on which the GDR is based, the embodiment of which it is in preserving and extending them. Tradition and traditional image thus only comprise a part of history, only a part of the total heritage.<sup>4</sup> Those traditions that evolved during the century-old struggle of the German people for surmounting suppression and exploitation--prior to the victory of socialism in the GDR, that is--are composed of, essentially, three elements that have dialectical relations with each other.

First, by traditions we mean those revolutionary historic values and manifestations produced by the workers class and its movement, especially by its revolutionary party, during its almost 150 years of history, themselves. They form the core of the image and consciousness of tradition in real socialism in the GDR. Second, it includes all revolutionary, democratic, progressive and humanistic manifestations, developments, personalities and facts evolved in the course of the many centuries of history our people has gone through. Third and finally, in our image of tradition belong positive results of the work coming out of the ruling exploiter classes, strata, groups and individual representatives of them, achievements that have served historic progress, are worthy of being preserved and deserve our full attention and cultivation.



The latter as a rule are almost all very contradictory historical manifestations or most contradictory efforts by strata, groups and historic personalities. Such achievements to a large degree come out of periods when the given exploiter classes were rising, but even during phases of decline there have been strata, groups and individual representatives of them that, mainly because they were forced to accommodate themselves, had to conform to the objectively necessary progress. In the historic efforts of ruling exploiter classes and their representatives, progress and reaction often are embodied. This reflects the objective dialectics of history which we Marxist-Leninists take account of.

There is nothing static, nothing given for once and for all, in our image of tradition, but it must constantly be rendered more precise and deepened. Comrade Kurt Hager explained at the social science conference: There are no "settled" questions in history. They "must always again be questioned in terms of conditions and requirements prevailing today. That has absolutely nothing to do with any 'trend-related revision' of history."<sup>5</sup> Vividly cultivating our tradition therefore chiefly means to test, deepen and enrich its elements time and time again, whereby to tap its total wealth. That is a continuous process resulting from the objective requirements of our social practice. The development of the GDR is itself a tradition-forming force in this.

#### New Requirements for Historical Science

The deepening of the Marxist-Leninist conception of heritage and tradition comes from the party-minded position of our tried and tested principles, on the basis of our scientific conception of the world and of history. That is so without any reservation. Comrade Erich Honecker has repeatedly and explicitly pointed out the continuity in our conception of heritage and tradition. It ranges from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Franz Mehring and Karl Liebknecht, Ernst Thaelmann all the way to present times and includes history conceptions and ideas of the revolutionary German social democracy of the 19th century and of the KPD.

The exploration and evaluation of historical processes thus are conditioned by the interests of the working strata and, above all, by the working class standpoint, the criterion of social progress, the class and class struggle theory and the conception of the inevitable sequence in the forms of society. Therefore, the focal point of GDR historiography continues to be the exploration and presentation of the history of the revolutionary German workers movement and its party, the revolutionary popular movements and class struggles, and the further deepening and refinement of this core in our conception of history. Work in this field is being intensified by the preparation of the 4-volume "SED History" and other works.

The newly raised questions about our heritage--e.g. about the role of Luther or Prussia in our image of history--intend no "fundamental reevaluation" or plainly any "revalidation" of rulers and ruling classes. To put it positively: The attitude taken toward our historical heritage always proceeds from the basis of the assured, party-minded class positions in our Marxist-Leninist image of history. And we always let ourselves be guided by that our Marxist-Leninist image of history always is marked by the decisive role of the popular masses as the main force of social progress and the world historic mission of the workers class. Only through such party-minded basic positions are new progressive steps possible and necessary, as needed in our time.

Another immovable premise of our image of our tradition is the unity of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism. In that sense we integrate achievements of our people, especially of the workers class, with world historic progress. In this we always look at the emergence and growth of our socialist fatherland as a part of the worldwide struggle for enforcing social progress, and we take for granted that the GDR is an objective expression and result of the worldwide revolutionary transformation from capitalism to socialism.

In the further refinement and development of the GDR's image of tradition, a central task continues to be in our history research and journalism our confrontation with the reactionary forces and reactionary class line of German history. That applies to reactionary Prussianism as much as to the rapacious aggressive policy of German imperialism. Without a clear political demarkation from all that is reactionary and hostile to progress, without a clear class statement or fundamental issue-taking, no advances are possible in the conquest of new land.

It is important on this basis consistently to carry on research which illuminates the world historic scope of our image of history and tradition, incompatible as it is with any national narrow-mindedness or any form of nationalism. Embedding our history within always specific world historic contexts is irrevocable. We simply never forget that the GDR stands in a double line of tradition. On the one hand, it is the legitimate heir to all that has been progressive, revolutionary, and humanistic in intent in German history and, on the other hand, it accepts positive values other peoples introduced to world history in its image of tradition. As an inseparable component we integrate cultural, technical and historical achievements of world importance with the line of socialist tradition in our country and pay tribute to the peoples that performed them. A central place in our understanding of tradition here is occupied by the Great Socialist October Revolution and the Soviet power originated in its outcome, which since then has formed the center of world progress. The enforcing and the victory of the progressive traditions and of real socialism in the GDR are inseparably connected with the existence of the Soviet Union.

To achieve a new developmental level of our image of history, we need a more complete and complex view and presentation of our people's history. For that reason we seek to provide more of a differentiated view of the totality of public affairs, especially in economic development, in our image of history and tradition. The development of the productive forces, and achievements in the field of science and technology in so far as they have served progress and progressive development, ought to be given more of a differentiated appreciation. We should systematically continue in the exploration and presentation of cultural history, the history of the culture and mode of life of the working classes and strata in all periods of their existence. Ethnography on building and living all the way to folksong research, highly topical especially to the cultural needs of youth, and surveys and monographs on the culture, mode of life, and ordinary living of the working strata tap new areas for shaping our image of history and deepening our understanding of our tradition.

An image of history shaped that way of the developing socialist German nation significantly helps promote a vivid relationship with the history of our people and

its material and cultural accomplishments, looked at from the positions of the victorious workers class in the GDR. Among these works, parts of our progressive tradition, are valuable memorials, artistically valuable city designs and artistic monuments, all cultural achievements of world rank and many other treasures of art and culture. Yet it is not enough to show fortresses and castles, works of art and such objects as precious museum pieces and include them in our image of tradition, they must be used to illuminate their structural and developmental relevance to a given period and, along with the creative role of the popular masses, accomplishments of the rulers must also be explained. Material and spiritual values of our history attest to the difficult and complicated conditions under which in certain periods historic progress was enforced. We take into account here that societies with their class antagonisms, along with their exploiting and suppressing the working people, also--especially in their rising phases--orchestrated the organization, management and molding of the new society by the then rising exploiter class.

This more refined view of history at once deepens our consciousness of our tradition. For the revolutionary struggle of the popular masses, the appearance of popular movements, and the formation of the workers class and the workers movement are concretely and historically grasped in their whole magnitude not until the difficulty of their struggles and the counteraction and potentials of the rulers are placed in our full view. This necessitates--always completely integrated with the totality of the given class relations--a still more penetrating and all-round analysis and examination of such forces in German history as, e.g., the nobility, monarchy and empire in early and developed feudalism, the medieval urban middle-class, its role in the time of the early bourgeois revolution, absolutism and, finally, the bourgeoisie in the bourgeois transformation. That also includes contradictory historic personalities, whose work is to be examined objectively, in line with the criteria of their times, free from euphemism and one-sidedness, and of course without ignoring their class-conditioned limitations. Especially in this fashion we can rid the images of such historic personalities of any mysticism in bourgeois reactionary historiography and place their actual historic efforts more soundly in a proper relationship with the efforts of the popular masses in any given era.

Another important field for refining and deepening our image of history and tradition is regional and homeland history which has attracted much more interest in recent times. Not only for a confrontation with the frequently idealistic regional history publications in the FRG, but more still for enriching and deepening our own image of history, we need our own regional and homeland history research based on Marxist-Leninist principles. Here we always of course have to keep in mind the ominous role of the territorial states in the history of the German people. Territorial fragmentation, particularism and the absence of a central authority brought it about that social progress in Germany took centuries to break through after exhaustive efforts.

In this increased concern for regional and homeland history with regard to our image of history, we also let ourselves be guided by that patriotism and love for one's home region find an important root in the knowledge of the history of one's own territory. One may merely point here to the remarkable initiatives of the Culture



League--not last by setting up the Society for Regional History--and to the efforts in the universities. But that is not enough. Research now started on Prussian history and the presentations available urgently need to be supplemented by others on the history of the former territorial states that now are part of the GDR, such as Saxony, Mecklenburg, Thuringia, Saxony-Anhalt and other territorial dominions.

Another important project in refining our image of history lies in exhausting all possibilities for completing our image of the revolutionary-democratic and humanistic traditions of our people. If we want to develop a more differentiated image of Luther, e.g., and thereby enrich our tradition, this can only be done if we at the same time further develop the Muentzer image we have formed and our conception of the revolutionary popular movement in the early bourgeois revolution. The same applies altogether to the work of the popular masses in precapitalist society. The main thing that matters is to examine more profoundly, while taking for our basis what we have achieved, the role, activity and development of the principal working class in feudal society, the feudal peasants, but also the formation of the proletariat during the development of capitalism. Something similar applies to the relationship between reform or reformers and the revolutionary popular movement in the early phase of the bourgeois transformation, to the dialectics of revolutions from below and "revolutions from above," and the relations between various fractions of the bourgeoisie, between workers movement and petty bourgeois democracy, between the antifascist struggle led by the communists and the resistance by progressive bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces. In this connection we also have to analyze in greater detail than we have done so far the relation between the appearance of anti-militarist, pacifist forces and the rigorous struggle by the revolutionary workers movement against militarism and war. Our tradition pays tribute to the accomplishments of those progressive forces from Christian, bourgeois and petty bourgeois circles that, alongside the workers class and under its leadership, and together with the parties operating within the National Front, have made an important contribution to the revolutionary transformation in our country.

The GDR's image of history and tradition is the outcome of a party-minded scientific analysis of German history. It is diametrically opposed to the FRG's conception of history and tradition. There neither is a common relationship of the GDR and the FRG with the past nor any kind of historic "all-German bracket." "In this respect too," as Comrade Kurt Hager declared, "there is no 'open German question': the GDR carries on the line of continuity from all that was progressive, humanistic, and revolutionary in past German history. Yet the ruling exploiter class in the FRG is not entitled, for making its policy legitimate, to appeal to the traditions of those forces and movements which that same exploiter class always has defied, suppressed and, not so rarely, done away with."<sup>6</sup>

GDR historical science is facing new and demanding tasks in the 1980's. Based on thorough research, it must further shape and deepen the Marxist-Leninist image of history and tradition, while taking issue of principle with imperialist and social reformist misrepresentations of history, so as to meet the new social needs of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Appeal for the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 November 1977, p 1.
2. Erich Honecker, "On Topical Political Questions," "Aus meinem Leben"(From My Life), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, ,980, p 437.
3. Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 8, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 115.
4. Cf. Helmut Meier/Walter Schmidt, "Was du ererbt von deinen Vaetern hast" (What From Your Fathers You Received as Heir), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980; Helmut Meier/Walter Schmidt, "Tradition and Socialist Consciousness," EINHEIT, No 12, 1978, pp 1220 ff.
5. Kurt Hager, "Die Gesellschaftswissenschaften vor neuen Aufgaben" (Social Sciences Facing New Tasks), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 38.
6. Ibid., p 39; Hans Koch, "Myths and Realities," EINHEIT, No 12, 1980, pp 1296 ff; Walter Schmidt, "Nation und deutsche Geschichte in der buergerlichen Ideologie der BRD" (Nation and German History in the Bourgeois Ideology of the FRG), Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1980.

#### West German Analysis

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 8 Apr 81 p 25

['Feuilleton' article by Sibylle Wirsing: "The German Mine-and-Yours Question: The Socialist Legacy and Our Possessions--Dealing With German History"]

[Text] The GDR's claim that it is carrying on the democratic, progressive and humanistic traditions of German history in the FRG at once runs into the obvious response that a state which, controlled by a single party, severely confines its population's physical and spiritual freedom of movement, cannot credibly appeal to such traditions. In response to that, the GDR ideologues then maintain that in the FRG "historic positions are being preserved by the ruling class that are ultimately directed against social progress and peace." Thus one seems condemned all the way through to having to conduct this discourse from implacable stand-points and at a level that even in the initial sentences turns speech into a bark. In the GDR, the mine-and-yours question still plays the crucial role in this, which Kurt Hager, the leading politician for culture in the supreme body of the party attributed to it recently in a speech. The GDR, he said, was the objective outcome of German history from its beginnings and in that sense the culmination of the centuries-old struggle of all progressive forces of the German people: "For which reason we regard all progressive traditions--in all their breadth and differentiation--from all German history as belonging to us." By way of supplementing this, Hans Koch, the party-minded social scientist and dogmatically loyal prompter and reinterater, says: "Our culture performs a great 'purgation' of the reactionary corruptions of our heritage."

The revalorization of the GDR as the "socialist German nation" in such manner also always seems suitable to devaluating the FRG. While it at best is given credit for some aspirations directed against the "ruling exploiter class," they see themselves at work developing "socialist German national culture." "Where the reactionary traditions, hostile to the people, of the German past are carried on in practice," Kurt Hager said with reference to the FRG, "one has no right to appeal to German history." Suddenly, the old preshaped pathos is sounded again with its ambiguous echo: German history--virtually a mystical concept. More soberly, they talk in their ideology German in the GDR of a "socialist heritage." That term is less burdened and burdening, and it offers from the outset the opportunity to select, omit, and attribute to oneself always only the good and best traditions. The dark chapters of the German heritage is then being pushed over to the other side.

As in the FRG one does not want to be one's own nation or develop an FRG national culture but keeps holding to the idea of an indivisible German nation, one thus does not attribute to this heritage any dividing or demarcation function but, on the contrary, a unifying one. By that "kind of national arching," so the GDR then comments, the FRG sought "to justify the nonrecognition of GDR citizenship." Is it possible that the urgency with which the socialist German state is being ordained as socialist nation in the final analysis still only comes down to stabilizing the state consciousness?

#### More Affection?

As long as the arguments and counter-arguments on the traumatic level of unsettled inferiority complexes and unrevised claims are being exchanged, they express not much more about the status of the divided nation but that the original pain, namely the pain of loss, has become a political taboo or political cliché. For the GDR Hans Koch comes up with one more commonplace in that he attributes to the Western persistence that holds on to an "allegedly national German cultural unity" merely the desire for a revision of the European postwar order. For the FRG, on the other hand, it was more like the breaking of a taboo when Guenter Gaus, while departing from East Berlin as Bonn's chief of mission, said to his interviewer we possibly should have to refrain from using the nation concept any more to end the suspicion of revanchism. Actually, Gaus thereby only made the GDR's prestige psychosis his own. Realizing that Western aversion against a German party state on Soviet orders and model contributes to psychological devastation among the Germans and also grossly oversimplifies reality, he resorted to sensitive pleading admonishing us to take account of the GDR's having to catch up in self-awareness and self-confidence. We should, he thought, drop our inner reservations to that state and not withhold our affection from it, "even if we don't like it." Our renouncing the irritant--the indivisible German nation--seemed to him not too much of a price to pay for the promotion of a psychic-human equilibrium. Yet as even the best arguments can talk no one out of standing by his nation as a super-political and untouchable entity, affection cannot be produced by any rationalization either. What should it in all honesty be based upon with respect to a state that feels as uncertain of the sympathy of its own citizens as the GDR? As things are, arguments which, in spite of everything, aim at mediation should still stand up to hard facts, for example to the fact that the founding of the GDR was not the result of a revolution on German soil and can in no way claim legitimacy, that is, the intent of the population, not even that stratum which now in GDR historiography is presented as the victorious revolutionary working class.

Establishing the socialist German state as such is not yet a proof that the GDR "stands in the line of continuity with all that was progressive, humanistic, and revolutionary in previous German history," as Kurt Hager recently reiterated explicitly. And indeed, first they had not wanted to espouse German history as a socialist commitment, but they had leveled their sites and educated the first GDR generation in the spirit of a radical new beginning. If the literature and humanities scholar of Weimar, Hans Kaufmann, now writes in a philosophic essay, "Essay on the Legacy," that in the West, "seeking alternatives for late capitalism," one was also dealing since the 1960's with the socialist theory and practice of heritage appropriation, he refers roughly to the time when they also gingerly started in the GDR to reduce their intolerance to other periods in German history.

### The Taboos

Releasing the heritage to become the population's freely available property proceeds neither tempestuously nor without reservation. Serious reluctance continues with the tradition of intellectual history, and not only that of the late bourgeois period. The individualistic and escapist, irrationalist and mystical, Christian and monarchical tendency of the Romantic Movement keeps being a problem for the GDR's heritage ideology. Tough on them also is, for understandable reasons, the revolution-oriented literature which up to the story, "The Fishers of St. Barbara," by young Anna Seghers did not propagate the class struggle but describes individual initiative and pays tribute to being tragically on one's own. Buechner's "Danton" or Brecht's "Baal," for instance, are not in the repertoire of GDR stages, and classical Goethe is more welcome than the young Schiller. While Gorki dramas are widespread, Chekhov is not, let alone Ibsen and Strindberg. And the revolution that enabled modern consciousness in the first place to gain scientific comprehension of itself, that is, the demarche of the late 19th century into psychoanalysis, remains completely barred from the popular heritage offer.

After the bitter formalism debates of the 1950's grew hard and got stuck, the heirs still dare not pick the subject up again. Yet, the broader they take the heritage concept and expand their heritage practice, never can they do without the formalist argument for justifying themselves before their ideology. When Frederick II of Prussia, unabashedly referred to as Frederick the Great by party boss and State Council chairman Erich Honecker, now reoccupies, as a sublime monument, his traditional spot in Berlin, Unter den Linden, brought home from exile into which a less heritage-emancipated era had banned him, no one should believe they have rehabilitated the monarch there: "The distinction of sculptor Rauch required an appropriate act," Kurt Hager unmistakably declared.

This visibly demonstrates the boundary set for the ideological-dialectical taming of the heritage, especially this act of reappointing Frederick in the surroundings of the royal palaces. However resolutely they may affirm that putting up the monument has no symbolic importance and is no sensation or political demonstration, the fact still speaks for itself. It simply demonstrates that history, when called upon, is a mixed bag and cannot be subjected to the "great purification." Rauch's monument, this statue of the mid-19th century, when restoration had reached its high point also in Prussia, cannot be cleansed of the spirit of the times. All told, it stands for the glorification of the absolute monarch and war lord. The heirs who are now reerecting the grand master up there on his pedestal, the royal



equestrian, with his state and war personnel at his feet, are also bound to admit the legendary Frederick figure, transfigured by Rauch, to the heart of the capital, even if only as an alien figure perhaps today.

The development of the "socialist German national culture," defined as an essential characteristic of the "socialist German nation," stops abruptly, however, at the point where the practice of heritage is bound to founder on the demarkation policy. Although memorable sites of German history are located not only inside the GDR and its testimonials are kept not only in GDR museums and archives, for a GDR citizen who wants to familiarize himself with his national culture only domestic treasures can count. He can become no eyewitness to any of that which is located in the FRG though in its essence and idea it undoubtedly is part of his heritage, even part of his Marxist tradition. And then the refusal to familiarizing himself with important parts of his intellectual property must hit him all the harder, the more readily he has responded to the political call to consider himself heir to "all humanistic, peace-loving, progressive, revolutionary traditions of all of German history, without any exception."

The patience will not always do which was practiced by the GDR Literature Society when the literary heritage was entrusted to it only step by step in adequate variety until it finally was even allowed to look into the works of such ideologically controversial authors as Kafka or Musil. He who espouses the "socialist German national culture" must also be ready for a definitive renunciation and accept a classification that separates not only the good from the bad traditions, but also the available from the unavailable documents of German history. Some unquenchable nostalgia this politically demarcated national culture will not be spared. As nation is more than merely a mental notion, so its culture also has a physical home, rich in regions and forms of life. Even GDR writers sometimes chance to tell of German landscapes lying far beyond the GDR national border and thereby cause their domestic readers emotional pain. But if one seriously gets ready to study the poets and historians of past centuries whose works picture a much divided and yet wide and broad Germany, one must be able to swallow a lot to feel that inside the socialist nation one still is part of what is great and whole.

"The thesis of a common history of the Germans advocated by the FRG is in every sense untenable in view of the irrefutable events of the last three decades," Hager says in his speech. How much unmerciful realism there is in that sentence is something even an FRG citizen can easily detect. One only needs to queue up at the border crossing point between West and East Berlin, on the lower level of Friedrichstrasse Station, among the foreign workers and adventurers, before the little entrance to the GDR capital to realize how alien a place it is that admits one when one wishes to be admitted to socialism. But even so--for an entrance fee of 30 marks one can then take a walk Unter den Linden and see with one's own eyes how the historic perspective has been reconditioned there thanks to the socialist heritage culture and Rauch's Frederick has become the dominant figure. That one remains aware then of one's role as a visitor that is one's due in the GDR relates not only to a respect for the "irrefutable events" but also has less rational reasons vis-a-vis this ever present socialist statehood. Anyone who would deny the inner and internal barriers incurs a psychological rather than political oversimplification.

In spite of that the Western offer must remain valid to the effect that the FRG itself does not shelter the legacy of German history, in so far as it administers it, behind any walls, neither ideological nor psychological ones, and certainly not behind a wall of property claims. Even if the GDR for the time being permits only its privileged citizens to find out about the traditions of German cultural history in all its wealth, it still would condemn the heritage ideology to death, were it to set territorial national borders for it. It can make sense to no one that only Dresden's baroque should be part of it but not Wuerzburg's, only Naumburg but not Bamberg or Aachen as well, only the Gothic and the Middle-Ages of the eastern yet not the western Hanse cities, only Weimar's classical treasures yet not also those of Marbach or Frankfurt/Main, only the inspirations of the Brandenburg, Thuringian and Mecklenburg landscapes yet not also those of western and southern Germany.

### Heritage for the Privileged

In Hans Koch, who demarcates the existence of a socialist German nation from the "capitalist German nation" with bland rigor, it reads like this: "Our socialist national culture appropriates as comprehensively as unadulteratedly the best cultural values of the German people ever since the latter came into existence." No infamous inference ought to be drawn from that statement nor should it be concluded the GDR is getting ready to encroach on the FRG but, on the contrary, one should see, in view of the open discord, that socialist national culture, while of necessity used as a political demarcation concept, actually comes quite close to the western proposition of "culture nation." That the GDR citizen's legitimate claim to his cultural heritage becomes an abstraction at the very point where the FRG begins makes the "irrefutable events" of his situation strikingly evident then of course.

The coercion to which the GDR population must yield can be responded to by those Germans who need not suffer it like that only by understanding the political conditions of the GDR, with apt reason and tolerance, yet certainly not with sympathy. For them the time may come, as soon as the "culture of human relations" and the "access to the treasures of world culture," declared program points by Honecker for the "broad culture conception of his party," can also become political practice and the GDR citizen, as a self-assured and equal participant, may wander over all historic areas where his legacy is on view--be they in Germany or Europe.

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EFFECTIVE METHODS FOR SCIENCE TALENT DETECTION OUTLINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 34/35, 4-5 Mar 81 p 5

[Report from Berlin: "Technical Talents To Be Promoted 'From Childhood.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED journal EINHEIT (No 3, 1981) has advocated increased and systematic promotion of technical talents "from childhood." Everyone knew how important for a future musician or top athlete, even under best physical and psychological premises, consistent everyday practice from childhood was. In the development of talents in the scientific-technical field, however, the full development of the essential prerequisites for creative activity was frequently still left to chance. Today's forms of promoting talents on GDR schools neither qualitatively nor quantitatively sufficed for raising significantly more pupils onto a higher capability level and for developing intensively enough specific gifts of individuals. Furthermore, for the early school years, especially important in this connection, such targeted promotion measures did thus far not exist at all.

GDR Education Specialists' Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 3, Mar 81 signed to press 9 Feb 81 pp 245-252

['Scientific-Technical Progress and Society' feature article by Dr Gerlinde Mehlhorn, lecturer on higher education, Department of Pedagogy, Karl Marx University, Leipzig; and Dr Hans-Georg Mehlhorn, director, Youth and Education Department, Central Institute for Youth Research, Youth Affairs Office, GDR Council of Ministers: "Scientific-Technical Talent To Be Recognized and Promoted"]

[Text] Socialism is the first social order that offers all people the opportunity actually to bring to realization the humanistic ideal of acquiring a fine education and extensively developing all capabilities and talents. Most working people today have sound general and vocational training. What now counts for the present and future is to use the advantages of our society still more effectively for the development of talents, especially in the



scientific-technical field. Suggestions are made for bringing an early targeted influence to bear on having everyone develop his talents.

Sound general and vocational education no doubt is among the values of socialism perceptible to everyone. Socialism is the first social order that offers all people the opportunity actually to bring to realization the humanistic ideal of acquiring a fine education and extensively developing all capabilities and talents. A sign of our high educational level is that 94 percent of the pupils who have successfully completed 8th grade enter 9th grade of our general education polytechnical secondary school. The proportion of working people graduated from 10th or 12th grade is growing constantly. Even in 1979, more than 60 percent of people working in the socialist economy comprised specialists or foremen, 11.8 percent having graduated from technical schools and 6.5 percent, from universities. Furthermore, more and more working people are taking part in the various forms of adult education.

These are truly important successes, results of having broken the educational monopoly of the former ruling class and the outcome of the target-directed educational policy of the Marxist-Leninist party, clearly expressed, in particular, by our uniform socialist educational system. Its specific advantages are found in the variety of access to ever higher education, the interaction between the interrelated educational levels, built on one another, the teachers' and educators' high training level, and the qualitatively and quantitatively constantly improving substantive and material provisions for the educational institutions. The educational level achieved also is the result of ever increasing cooperation among all social areas under a unified progressive objective: socialist personality development. And so family education, the educational system, the job, leisure time areas, advanced education and training offer various opportunities and potentials for bringing this objective to realization.

What now counts for the present and future is to use these advantages of our socialist society still more effectively for the development of talents, especially in the scientific-technical field. That raises the question what is to be done, in conformity with the rapidly growing demands of scientific-technical progress, so that everyone truly develops his talent to the fullest. Part of the meaning of life in socialism is that an individual makes his specific contribution to social progress. And that calls for the full development of his talent. That turns a humanistic ideal into reality in our society which Johann Gottfried Herder, e.g., had in mind when he said: "No one can contribute to what is best for all humanity unless he makes out of himself what he is supposed to become."<sup>1</sup>

Especially scientific-technical progress is called upon "to make the work of people still more fruitful, develop their creativity and make working conditions more and more human."<sup>2</sup> This deeply humanistic concern can materialize only if we succeed, through high training for all working people and the development of all individual abilities and talents, in ever more extensively controlling the process of scientific-technical progress and using what we have achieved for the good of all society and each individual. This only socialist society can do, as the development of mankind thus far has shown. Coping with this process in the further course of the socialist revolution is a hard task demanding greatest efforts from everyone, one that cannot be fulfilled without higher criteria - for one's own actions and one's dedication.

## Scientific Principles for Talent Development

The development of more especially gifted children and youths calls for more deeply exploring the theoretical principles and practical possibilities for detecting and promoting talent and for rapidly absorbing available insights. In principle, as research has shown, every mentally healthy person can be enabled to perform creatively. That is a very important conclusion in that it demonstrates that no society has but a limited number of people capable of creative activity. Any mentally healthy person can acquire the individual prerequisites which are needed on the various levels for creative achievements. At the same time, however, this research also brings out that actually only few people reach and exhaust their individual maximum of creative ability.

In talking here of creative achievements we mean by that concept those that are creative only for the person himself or his immediate study or work collective as well as others constituting international top achievements in a certain field. So it comprises the transfer of already confirmed insights and procedures to previously untapped areas of application or the improvement of details and also the creation of entirely new theories, procedures, products and whole technologies. This society in principle needs every creative achievement. But especially does it need the kind of scientific-technical top achievements that are of novelty value. In his speech before the Kreis first secretaries, Comrade Erich Honecker explained that work was being done "in determining for our future economic growth those crucial developmental trends on which to concentrate the scientific and technical possibilities and the investment capacity of our republic. Labor efficiency and quality is what it is all about. Our strategy requires high scientific-technical achievements in crucial areas."<sup>3</sup>

High scientific-technical achievements ultimately depend on a high development level of creatively thinking and performing personalities. For that reason our society must pay more attention to steadily raising the training and education level all throughout our educational system and to detecting and specifically promoting those personalities who have reached a certain talent level in their previous development and might be in the position to come up with top achievements. At the Fifth University Conference, Minister Hans-Joachim Boehme declared in this context that the crucial task was "to spot gifts and talents at good time and promote them." That holds true not just for the time of training but also, accordingly, for the time thereafter. What has come to matter more then is that out of the large group of well trained university graduates, more must and can be brought to top achievements.<sup>4</sup> The question of how one can tell which persons in what areas can successfully be brought to extensively developing his talent is one that, scientifically, has not yet been adequately answered. Extensively confirmed up to now is, however, that those who have trained their talent well in a scientific-technical direction in principle possess highly developed general intelligence.

The history of science and technology is filled with examples that can explain why a particularly gifted mathematician, physicist, chemist, physician or linguist happened to develop his talent precisely in the direction he chose. From the individual life stories of personalities with above-average gifts it normally follows--with all due allowance to the conditions under which they grew up and worked--that, for one thing, there were favorable special characteristics for directing their talents in terms of their anatomy and physiology. But many others have the same,

yet they have come up with nothing particularly creative in all their lives. These anatomical-physiological traits alone do not do it. Psychological conditions must be as favorable as they are for a personality under favorable social or environmental conditions. Especially important here is the development of stable interests and of motives and value orientations as well as specific knowledge, abilities and skills that have been generated and perfected while a person grew up through what he has done in the general area in which his talent lies.

This activity aspect is especially important as it clearly brings out the role of being active in developing and promoting talents. Everyone knows how important for a future musician or top athlete, even under best physical and psychological preconditions, consistent everyday practice and exercise are, from childhood on. In the development of talents in the scientific-technical field, however, the full development of the essential prerequisites for creative activity is too frequently still left to chance. In all fields talents have to be developed systematically from childhood. There is no indication that such early promotion applies only to selected fields. Their development succeeds all the earlier and better, the more opportunities are given to a personality for intensively and actively dealing with the field in which his talent is to be developed.

An important research assignment right now lies in developing diagnostic techniques which, for one thing, will help us detect personalities that at a certain point, as early as possible, possess advantageous physical and psychological preconditions for the promoting of their talents. Secondly, these techniques are to make it possible to account in a more differentiated fashion for those prerequisite, not thus far developed in an optimum way, that generally should become the handles for individual promotion--not only in the case of the already more gifted. As long as such diagnostic techniques are not available, one should, in the education and training process for all adolescents, start from the premise that there are special gifts that ought to be detected and developed. In general this presupposes that everyone should be promoted individually, starting with a deliberately challenging approach to personalities in their development and going all the way to a scientifically established specification for the scope and depth of teaching matters and methods, so as to attain a stronger development of the intellectual potential. That holds true not only for improving the promotion of talent but, in principle also, for the further implementation of our goal to neglect or leave behind no one anywhere in our educational system.

Just recently we were able to demonstrate by means of an internationally widespread and well standardized intelligence test: the totality of our pupils, according to these surveys, as conducted by the Central Institute for Youth Research, in comparison with pupils of the same age in the 1960's and in highly developed imperialist industrial states, today reaches much earlier a certain developmental level in general intellectual abilities and, while going to school, an absolutely higher level of those abilities. This result shows that the GDR has succeeded in the last 12 years--mainly through the continued consistent development of our educational system and the influence of all public areas on the development of universally educated socialist personalities--in making better use than before of all intellectual potentials of our pupils. The proportion of those with above-average achievements increased particularly, while that with the greatly below-average achievements dropped. Still existing unjustified differences between various



grades or various schools remind us that even now by no means all potentials are exhausted for maximally developing the intellectual abilities of all pupils.

The greatest successes are found where teachers seek to respond individually to every pupil, are familiar with their strengths and weaknesses and try to develop existing strengths further and to overcome weaknesses. Such pedagogic work helps each pupil in developing an individual outline of his abilities and knowledge. A direct path leads from there to universities to prepare special study plans for highly gifted students. The highly gifted ones are mainly those who in their overall development on previous educational levels reached--in comparison with others--an above-average increase in knowledge and skills in many or selected areas and have translated that into commensurate performance.

#### Personality Criteria of the Highly Gifted

The Central Institute for Youth Research surveys aimed at detecting the essential factors for personality development, the ones that have contributed to developing the greatest scientific-technical skills in gifted young people and young adults at this time. Here we concentrated on those who, compared with others who got the same education and training, presented, or were involved in the preparation of, a higher degree of notable creative achievements. This research involved young working people who carried the main load in preparing presentations that were then shown at the Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow. And those students and young scientists were included whose best scientific achievements had been submitted to the Central Performance Show during their studies or right after concluding them. It was confirmed in the course of this research that special achievement presupposes high intellectual abilities, for which reason it is important to pay strictest attention to their development. Simultaneously, however, we also determined that intellectual abilities alone will not do for, not only, reliably fulfilling the tasks assigned but, moreover, seeking novel and more effective, sometimes fundamentally new ways, for bringing them to realization. Realizing such goals calls for personalities with pronounced goals in life, who are socialistically grounded and oriented to high achievements, who have stable interests and solid motives and, at the same time, high intellectual abilities.

Our research has also confirmed, however, that there is much differentiation even within this group of the altogether above-average gifted, and that only some of them fully use the available opportunities for talent development and do develop their gifts accordingly. For further developing the educational and training process also under the aspect of a stronger talent promotion, it is important to know in as great a detail as possible what typifies especially those young people and young adults who have reached a high level in the development of their talents. Precise handles for it can come only from a scientifically accurate answer to that question. On the basis of our research up to now we can say that, e.g., successful members of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, innovators and creatively successful active students and young scientists differ most strongly from the totality of the young workers, their contemporaries, in the range of the following personality criteria: A much higher personal dedication to solving scientific-technical problems, a greater wealth of ideas and brainwaves, greater dedication to the fulfillment of social tasks, greater tenacity in the solution of scientific-technical tasks, more

familiarity with political issues, more theoretical knowledge about their occupation, greater endurance in solving immediate practical problems, greater dedication to plan fulfillment in their enterprise, greater enthusiasm for their jobs, and a stronger interest in scientific and technical problems in other special fields.

This survey result underlines that in the scientifically and creatively most gifted, technical or occupational and socially oriented modes of conduct are closely intertwined. This is an outstanding educational result of our socialist educational system and once again confirms the often explored social motivation in the individual conduct precisely of the best youths. Of very great importance also is the readiness and ability of the personality for a high dedication to solving scientific-technical and social tasks. The youths and young adults place higher demands on themselves also in the everyday process of work, e.g., in an economically responsible use of material, energy and working time. They pay strict attention to the quality of their work, seek optimum alternatives in their innovator and inventor's activity and, while away from their job, invest more time in the solution of problems. In general, they seek their challenge particularly when the problems are most difficult.

Dedication, perseverance, enthusiasm for one's job in general, and for the problem to be solved in particular, are personality traits without which such a creative stance would not be possible. That holds true for anyone who is after optimum achievements. Glenn T. Seaborg, the 1951 Nobel Laureate for chemistry, after pointing out that such an achievement, worthy of the Nobel Prize, called for imagination, planning and much luck, of course, too, said: "But the most important perhaps mainly is hard work, really working, all the time and all throughout the night, night after night." One must be prepared for long times when one is not successful and must not be deterred by that. "I am sure that was what led me to my idea about the placing of elements. I always kept thinking about this and impressed it firmly on my memory, day and night, until I finally terminated it correctly."<sup>5</sup>

Extraordinary achievements call for extraordinary efforts. But such extraordinary efforts will be taken on only by someone whose intelligence, knowledge, interests, motives and special abilities were developed over the long run for such a task and who, of course, himself wants to reach such a goal. That precisely is the reason why the most talented children, youths and young adults have thus far been those who also came up socially with important creative achievements.

#### Ways for Promoting Talents

Based on the valid criteria for systematic talent promotion, this all requires increased attention for those who have called attention to themselves on the various steps of our educational system by an above-average level of development or by obviously above-average potentials. We have jointly had good successes where some of these pupils were specifically promoted in the Mathematics Olympiad Movement or were fit into other intensive promotion processes (working associations, student academies, student societies and so forth). Yet such forms neither quantitatively nor qualitatively suffice for raising significantly more pupils onto a higher capability level or promoting specific talents of individuals intensively enough. Furthermore, for the lower grades such targeted promotion measures hardly yet exist. Not only for musicians, artists and athletes, the foundation stone is laid in the early school years but for the scientists and technicians as well.

Many up to now of the most gifted, our research reveals, have independently (!) been dealing with scientific and technological problems since their early school-age already, not infrequently as long as they could remember in fact, while developing important knowledge, abilities, skills but also attitudes and modes of conduct that were important for their jobs later. Often, coincidence or favorable individual conditions at home or in school set off such talent development. Today one can no longer leave it to fortuity because it is important to give every child many stimuli and thereby recognize and develop every talent. That starts with the need for a specific assortment of toys for construction-oriented hobbies and continues with looking for suitable forms of extracurricular activity starting around the age of eight. It would be perfectly conceivable, e.g., to familiarize especially interested pupils with technical and technological questions relating to courses they will later take in biology, physics, or chemistry, or to the enterprises in which upper graders will get polytechnical instruction--analogous to the working associations according to the framework program--, whereby to promote technical interest and technical thinking and early stimulate future vocational preferences.

The Heinrich Heine secondary school in Jena, e.g., has taken an interesting approach. There the intention is to create a so-called chain between electrical engineering and electronics. A new working association in electronics is meant to close the gap in knowledge and skill between the working association in electrical engineering for the pupils in grades two to five and the physics working association for pupils in 9th and 10th grade. In cooperation with enterprises, institutions and social organizations, many other schools surely will find it possible also to expand opportunities for technically-oriented working associations for pupils of all age-groups. That responds to a demand of the Eighth Pedagogical Congress to promote inclinations and talents in a favorable fashion.<sup>6</sup>

Some adolescents get the opportunity for extra promotion from earlier steps of our educational system or from their home. That is true of prize winners in the mathematics and physics olympiads, devoted participants of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement, student academies, student societies and working associations, students in special classes and circles, classes with expanded Russian instruction and so forth. Subsequent development phases at present are still not sufficiently target-oriented in their way of picking up and extending promotion measures of previous levels. That even holds often true for those students and young scientists (best students, research students, assistants) whose work results were given attention at the Central Performance Show or during their defense of their diploma or thesis.

The optimum development of the individuality of socialist personalities<sup>7</sup> calls for maximal use, and thus for the further promotion, of personality qualities attained at a specific point in time. For the breadth and depth of talent promotion will depend on the quality and quantity of demands placed on the adolescents in their educational and training process. Success must not come too easy to any personality, and certainly not to any gifted one. Only those activities will contribute to the development of abilities that go together with great intellectual efforts, and of the attainment of which the pupil, apprentice, or student can then rightly be proud.

One of the most difficult problems probably is objectively to evaluate the quality of achievements performed relative to the prerequisites and opportunities for them.



Nonetheless, everyone involved in training and education must thoroughly consider how he too can reach more surely and earlier, through systematic promotion relative to individuals, what the Soviet psychologist Wygotski has called the "zone of next development." As a rule there are still too many tasks assigned, especially, to the unusually gifted that contain only the kind of challenges to their performance abilities that they were already able to handle on previous levels of their development, too few demand of them, for handling them, an acquisition of new knowledge, new abilities and skills. But if tasks are assigned that demand everything of a personality, it then also becomes easier to make them more strongly aware of the responsibility they have for their own achievement--a characteristic that is indispensable for obtaining top achievements.

At present it is sometimes very difficult firmly to shape the intention to hold oneself responsible for actually, and within deadlines, coming up with an achievement. For some there evidently is a contradiction. They may have a stable political-ideological attitude, to be sure, and they also may be willing to meet social demands as best they can. Yet their will to achieve, to fully dedicate themselves in their everyday work, to recognize this as their social testing ground and act accordingly, is still insufficiently developed if gaged against current and future requirements. For that reason, the central handle for all promotion should be demanding, interest-oriented and independently executed activity. Such important personality traits and modes of conduct as persistence and the readiness for efforts and dedication, as well as the ability to make productive and economical use of time, just like great intellectual abilities, will stably and lastingly develop only if a personality must and will realize goals early that extract the highest personal commitment above and beyond the normal measure.

Socially important tasks approaching the upper limits of performance capacity but especially well suited to the interests of children and youths, which however can only be met through intensive, persistent and independent work, have a particularly favorable effect on personality development. Through cooperating with schools or student facilities and enterprises, social organizations (FDJ, German-Soviet Friendship Society, Culture League and so forth) and state institutions, many tasks can be found that can be solved on a high level even by young people and are important and useful for society as well as for further personality development. Mass media tendencies as, e.g., in "Trommel" (Drum) and "Jugend und Technik" (Youth and Technology), which assign tasks to adolescents against which to gage themselves and thereby develop their creative thinking and imagination, should be further developed.

A development of talents in the scientific and technical field can come about only through an actively intellectual and practical confrontation with the environment. Requirements related to science and technology in the ordinary training and education process permit us to create the necessary basis and motivation there. Yet it must systematically and more strongly be combined with an early participation in activities that are of high social benefit. That holds true, e.g., for a more effective participation by the pupils in the Pair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the innovator movements in the very enterprises in which they get their polytechnical instruction,<sup>8</sup> in working associations, e.g. also those of the Culture League, possibly in connection with the preservation of nature and the protection of the environment and so forth. In enterprises, the Chamber of Technology, and R&D institutions, one should give thought to what possibilities exist or can be created, e.g., compositions on science



and technology problems for senior pupils, students and young engineers and scientists, to direct their interest and research drive at such socially useful tasks, for there is nothing that stimulates creativity as much as knowing exactly what tasks and problems have to be solved. This initiative here too can and should come from the enterprises. The Carl Zeiss Jena combine enterprise in Goeschwitz, e.g., sponsored a Julius Schaxel Prize for pupils in the sponsorship schools who in a joint working association are working on the solution of important technical problems.

For the shaping of talent in the scientific-technical field our school is creating solid high-level general foundations that are constantly being further developed. Now the main thing is to give further thought to how these favorable prerequisites can socially be used in such a way that all youths will still better be prepared for coping with the tasks of scientific-technical progress for realizing the humanistic objectives of our socialist society while, through this process itself, developing into highly skilled, diversified, gifted socialist personalities.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Johann Gottfried Herder, "Briefe zur Befoerderung der Humanitaet" (Letters on the Promotion of Humanity), Vol I, Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1971, p 156.
2. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 25.
3. Ibid., pp 29-30.
4. Hans-Joachim Boehme, "The Contribution of the Universities and Colleges to Social Progress and the Strengthening of Our Country's Productive Capacity in the 1980's," "V. Hochschulkonferenz der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik" (Fifth GDR University Conference), Berlin, 1980, p 53.
5. G. T. Seaborg, Interview, "H. Olivier, Creativity in Physical Sciences--Interviews With Some Nobel Laureates," INTERCHANGE, Vol 8, No 4, 1977-1978.
6. Margot Honecker, "Der gesellschaftliche Auftrag unserer Schule" (The Social Mission of Our School), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 44.
7. Cf. Edgar Drefenstedt, "Individual Promotion for Each Pupil--The Most Important Component of Successful Communist Education," PAEDAGOGIK, No 2/3, 1980, pp 170 ff.
8. Cf. Gerhart Neuner, "High Achievement and Creativity--What Does That Mean to Education?" NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 29 April 1980, p 3.

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## POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, GUARANTEES OVERVIEWED

## Maintain, Strengthen Recent Gains

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 81 pp 4, 6

[Article by Zbigniew Siedlecki]

[Text In discussions of the future makeup of Polish political life, many emphatic statements are made about the necessity of ensuring that we do not return to our old conditions and about guarantees that our gains in the year 1980 in the social and political spheres are upheld and expanded. The attitude toward the issue of such guarantees is not free of emotional overtones; clearly, this issue affects the mood of the nation. Nonetheless, this issue, which is concrete and demands concrete solutions, cannot be considered abstractly. For this reason, much depends on making society aware of the conditions of these solutions, both internal and external. Among the internal conditions, neither the economic nor the political conditions are favorable.

Our economic situation at the beginning of 1981 gives us cause for concern. We are feeling the effects of the voluntaristic economic policy of the past decade and we will continue to feel its effects for a long time. This policy has led to economic discord and colossal indebtedness of the state. These are the major sources of our present difficulties. The assertion, however, that what is occurring at present does not have a negative influence on the economic situation is obviously untrue.

It is not only that the strikes, the Saturdays free from work which the government has been forced to concede and the halfhearted work noted in many factories exacerbate our problems in a glaring way. It is also that the undertakings for the purpose of smoothing over our troubles as quickly as possible are both costly and painful.

For example, if we wish to avert a drastic decline in the standard of living, we must bring a halt to many of our investments. Similarly, we must reduce manpower in our overgrown administrative apparatus. Limiting our investments and reducing this apparatus brings about the necessity of letting go a considerable number of employees. We cannot absorb them immediately into the job market. We must either pay them relief over a long period of time, arrange new positions for them, or provide them with expensive retraining to enable them to find employment in other professions on the job market. Consequently, we will have a large group of people who are personally affected by the change in economic policy and who are disenchanted, but

not with the government that existed before last August--with the present authorities. These people will blame both the government and the new trade unions for their difficulties.

We must also expect another source of dissatisfaction. Until the present time, market scarcities resulting both from the failure of production to keep pace with needs and from a decrease in exports which enable the import of goods (particularly with regard to foodstuffs in the wake of a disastrous year for agriculture) have been compensated for in part by credits designated for the import of necessities. Thus, not only are we not decreasing our indebtedness, we are increasing it at a rate greater than during the period under criticism, the past decade. Moreover, these are credits which are consumed and do not serve in the least to turn around our economy. The time will soon come when we will have to put a definite stop to incurring credits for consumer goods; this will bring about an even worse living situation and, as a result, discontent among the masses.

The primary political condition is the weakness of the executive authority. And this phenomenon did not begin in 1980. The indolence of executive authority became evident several years ago when the attempt was made to put into effect a so-called economic maneuver based on a reduction in, and deferral of, investments in the direction of the market. Concrete decisions related to this "economic maneuver" were not executed because certain ministries and regions of the country willfully ignored them, unscrupulously taking advantage of the weakness of the central executive authority.

Clearly the events of July and August did not contribute toward strengthening the state administration either at the central or the local level. On the contrary, since that time inconsistency and ineptitude in the government's actions have increased. This is manifested, above all, in delayed and vacillating decisions and in the lack of proposals for immediate solutions. Governmental action does not always meet with Sejm approval; government plans, whether budgetary or in the form of concrete laws, are criticized, particularly in Sejm committees.

The local units of the state administration find themselves under sharp attack (even though such criticism is not always properly directed and well-aimed). Often demands for concrete changes in personnel are set forth and the implementation of these demands is compelled. This is understandable; it is particularly easy with regard to the state administrative apparatus to personify the mistakes of the past. But it is also understandable that the apparatus, which is under constant attack from two sides at once, cannot change its uncertain future in the way that everyone expects, i.e., it cannot operate more and more efficiently, energetically and wisely.

Several months ago in an article entitled "Must We Learn about Democracy?" I propounded the thesis that an efficient executive authority is a necessary condition for the functioning of a democracy, and that where we have to deal with the partial paralysis of authority the process of renewal ensues at a slower rate than where authority operates efficiently. It is not without some satisfaction that I assert that this thesis, which was considered controversial at the time, has been confirmed in practice during recent months.

Thus we may make the statement that the most important internal domestic condition for the restructuring of political life in a successful way is the proper functioning of the economy even under conditions of the inevitable reduction in the standard of living, as well as the proper functioning of the state and economic administration. We are dealing here with a paradoxical phenomenon: these who are working most dynamically toward renewal cause instability in economic and administrative structures; moreover, they act convinced that in this way they move the process of renewal forward.

Intentions are not important in our evaluation of the consequences, since all roads to hell are paved with good intentions. If we consider the matter objectively, those who are impatient for renewal and do not waver in breaking down barriers are no less a threat to renewal than those who, whether out of concern for their own fortunes or holding on to their conservative positions, try to impede renewal (and are considered the only enemies of renewal by those impatient for it).

It is the characteristic vicious circle. Can it not be broken? Can we not find an advantageous way out of this very confused situation? The experiences up to the present time in Gdansk Voivodship, for example, show that we can and that this course leads through the path of the executive authority's reliance on the growing strength of the autonomous social organizations, and that this mutual help of the authorities and these organizations is the most effective when it is characterized by an understanding of mutual needs and, most importantly, by an understanding of the precedence of state interests.

A brief overview of external conditions must begin with the statement that the inception, development and continuation of the process of renewal in Poland have been and are possible only because we are a country which, thanks to the implementation of the political ideas of the PZPR, has ensured its own international security.

We find ourselves among neighbors and allies who, being vitally interested in what is happening in our country, are as sympathetic as they can be and offer their assistance to us. It is political assistance manifested in the maintenance of those conditions internationally which would make any kind of external interference into Polish affairs impossible, enabling the Poles to resolve their difficult problems on their own. It is economic assistance which we value all the more highly since it flows from coffers which are not overflowing. And finally, moral assistance consisting of the emphatic and consistently upheld declaration of the conviction that Poland will deal on its own with its political difficulties. We should point out that this confidence of our allies in us is addressed above all to the PZPR.

Our allies are alarmed by the prolonging of the political crisis. This is not strange. It would be strange if they were indifferent to it. Will we--not reaching beyond our own borders--find a thinking Pole who, pleased with the progress of the renewal process, is not alarmed that the crisis continues?

Numerous analyses of the situation in Poland have been made in the countries of our camp. According to articles in their press, these analyses draw the same conclusions and evaluations as we ourselves draw. But are our own internal evaluations homogeneous? Do we not argue over them, even though we have at our disposal a better grasp of the facts than an outsider? Is it possible to exact an accurate picture of the Polish reality from one's comrades in a country which lies at a distance of half the breadth of Europe and the whole span of the Atlantic Ocean?



As a journalist whose attempts to present the problems of the countries of our camp have been impeded more than once by stiff conventions, it is with some satisfaction that I note the difference in evaluations, creating a precedent to break down these conventions and open up the possibility of a mutual dialog in the presentation of the problems of the states of the socialist community.

The events of the hot Polish summer likewise aroused the interest of our comrades in the countries of Western Europe. It was friendly interest, an expression of proletarian internationalism. The support expressed by European communists for the renewal of political life in Poland raised our spirits and continues to bolster them. It confirms our conviction that we are following the right path.

For several months, Polish issues have had a bearing on the European situation; they also have certain worldwide repercussions. Europe is not yet in a state of full equilibrium. This is clearly evident in periods when the policy of detente is put to the severe test. Because of Poland's past and its location in the center of Europe, among other reasons, it is a state which affects the preservation of this equilibrium to a greater degree than is warranted by our country's size and its economic potential. Thus, what happens in Poland is of consequence to the preservation of this equilibrium because political instability in our country (and this is a danger with which we must come to terms) would clearly disrupt European equilibrium. All the more so is the development of our situation a matter of consequence to the policy of detente, and for a significant portion of West European public opinion Poland has become something in the nature of a gage of the effectiveness of the policy of detente. For this reason, many bourgeois statesmen who endorse the policy of detente and are aware of its meaning to the fortunes of our continent are understanding of the Polish situation and even declare their readiness to help overcome economic difficulties.

We are pleased by this, and although those in the West who are considered the authors of the policy of opening Poland up to the world are no longer at the helm, it pleases us all the more that our country consistently continues this policy.

The opponents of detente--and there has been a distinct increase in antidetente tendencies in the past 2 years--view Poland differently. They cannot really count on uprooting it from the socialist camp, but they do count on rendering it unstable and on transforming it from a strong element of the socialist community into a trouble spot working toward the destruction of this community. Thus, the opponents of detente treat Poland not as an objective in and of itself, but as a vehicle of European politics. They wish to play the Polish card in an imperialistic power game. We protest with all our might against such treatment of our state.

#### Personal Guarantees

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan - 1 Feb 81 pp 3, 4

[Second part of article by Zbigniew Siedlecki]

[Text] The discussion of guarantees for preserving and strengthening the political and social gains of August 1980, as well as for securing Polish political life against the return of old conditions should begin with the issues of the personalities involved.

After the two earlier crises, society honored personal guarantees above all. The dismissal of the leader and his team was to ensure that, their makers gone, the mistakes which had been made would not be repeated and, by the same token, a credit balance of trust was built up for the new leader and his team.

In the light of the events following the 1956 crisis and the 1970 crisis, it is evident that such personal guarantees are not enough. Society requires that they be broadened considerably. That is, in the first place, the punishment according to the requirements of the law of all those who have committed abuses, as is in accordance with a social sense of justice. And, in the second place, the bringing to justice of all those who, by poorly discharging the public functions entrusted to them, have contributed to causing the present crisis situation (excluding, of course, activists, to whom such a charge does not apply). This demand issued only in part from the necessity of giving satisfaction to society, whose affairs were jeopardized. It is primarily motivated out of the conviction that cannot be denied by any logical thinker, that those who got us into this crisis are not capable of getting us out of it.

This is how the issue was expressed at the sixth and seventh plena of the Central Committee. Their recommendations are implemented with regard to those exercising authority by the Supreme Chamber of Control and the public prosecutor, and with regard to party members, by the Party Control Commission.

This settling of accounts, however, which should be complete, consistent and just, cannot be conducted in an atmosphere of turmoil and moral terrorism over all those who are part of the process of governing and managing. An atmosphere of calm is essential, as is reliance on evidence. Furthermore, it is immeasurably important that critical evaluations be executed in a discreet and serious manner, so that those who are not at fault, people fulfilling their obligations then and now, do not feel threatened. It is also imperative that we prevent petty grudges and personal games, which are only too tempting in an emotion-charged atmosphere. Libelers and those who have made unjust, irresponsible accusations should be brought to justice in accordance with the law.

Public opinion pays very careful attention to institutional guarantees. For this reason there now arise, or rather there is now a rebirth of, many institutions ensuring the democratic operation of the state. We are also seeing the initiation of many important legal documents, the lack of which has been felt for a long time. While I consider this highly useful, I believe that this is only a partial solution, and that we are placing excessive hope in the process of perfecting the law.

The errors and distortions of which we are so painfully feeling the consequences now did not occur only because we were lacking the institutional means of preventing their occurrence. On the contrary, they appeared indirectly, and sometimes, directly connected with violations of law and order. Those in power have many opportunities to bypass and even ignore the law, and they make use of these opportunities more and more frequently and across a broader and broader range, the more alienated they are from the masses. Although we would like to see institutional guarantees tremendously extended, they will always fall short of the mark if public life disdains the opinion of the masses in practice.

In the mid-1950's, particularly right after the events of October 1956, there was discussion of the thesis of the necessity for the existence of an opposition party in socialism as a condition of the operation of a democracy. The acceptance of this idea would have meant a structural regression back into bourgeois democracy; however, the appearance itself of such a thesis was linked to the deficiencies in the existing machinery of socialist democracy. We have fought against this thesis, indicating where it would lead, but we have not been successful in creating a positive alternative.

It seems to me that the experiences of the past months provide a positive solution in the form of a new spring in the machinery of socialist democracy, a spring which operates organically with the whole. Namely, the autonomous social organizations have arisen and are beginning to function, with the new trade unions in the forefront.

These organizations, each within the scope of its own interests, are taking on the functions of control and of fitting the decisions of the authorities on the form of mass opinion. What is more, in taking on the function of consultants in decision-making, they are becoming extremely useful as a foreground for discussion in such decisionmaking, they have an impact on the shape such decisions will take, and thus they facilitate the joint governing of the country for the masses. Thus they fulfill the function of authenticating the leading role of the party, an immeasurably important function for the proper operation of a socialist democracy.

But this is not a new solution. On the contrary, it is a return to the Leninist idea, the development of which was hampered by the distortions of the cult-of-personality period. In fact, our self-governing social organizations are really the "mass organizations of working people" of Leninism, so important for this architect of the young Soviet state.

Thus, the development and strengthening of self-governing social organizations is one of the two most important guarantees of the existence of a socialist democracy in that form desired by the working masses (we will discuss the second guarantee shortly). Although we now have behind us the spontaneous and rather stormy beginnings of such organizations, their development and fortification are not at all so automatic a process. Decentralizing tendencies are cropping up in them, they are beginning to be fragmented and, although within only a narrow scope and usually locally, dissenting elements or even elements hostile to socialism speak out.

Of course, these are unavoidable phenomena when we are dealing with spontaneously occurring processes; consequently, their existence should be considered normal. Nonetheless, they undoubtedly hamper and complicate the process of the fortification of self-governing social organizations. This is particularly the case with "Solidarity" and rural self-government, and to a lesser extent with the cooperative organizations and associations, as well as the organizations and associations of an environmental, scientific and creative nature. Thus, the consolidation of self-governing social organizations upon a statutory basis is of capital significance.

The most important guarantees must be sought within the party. This is obvious: nothing that happens within the PZPR is without impact on the situation in Poland, and at the same time it is impossible to effect any basic change without the active participation of the PZPR. Anyone who ignores this truism is either an enemy of Poland or simply a fool who does not know what is going on in our country and is not aware of the internal and external conditions of our situation.



These guarantees should be examined in the intraparty democracy. Their functioning within the party radiates to the outside, fostering democratic solutions of a societywide nature. As we look back to the events of the periods following October 1956 and December 1970, we see that our cardinal error, the mistake that cost us most, was the failure to realize the importance of this.

In both circumstances, we first did not take advantage of the possibilities for broadening the intraparty democracy that was taking shape immediately after the crises; secondly, we did not exhibit enough vigilance when the leaders, wishing to facilitate the exercise of their leadership functions, slowly but systematically effected the virtual dismantling of the elements of intraparty democracy, treating them as ornaments or merely theatrical decorations put up when needed. We will not make this mistake a third time. Today the body of party members is imbued with the consciousness that intraparty democracy represents the letter "A" in the alphabet of socialist democracy. It is the only effective remedy for the autocratic tendencies of leaders and the most important guarantee of the irreversibility of the process of the changes known as the renewal.

A discussion of the subject of conditions and guarantees would not be complete without a specification of what the prerequisites are and what the guarantees are supposed to ensure. We cannot be satisfied merely with the assertion that we should not revert to what existed before, to the situation against which the workers' protest of the hot Polish summer of 1980 was directed. Today, nearly 5 months after these events of great consequence, there already exist the premises for an alternative sketch of the forecast of the course of events for the near future, for the creation of a picture of the opposing variants of the situation which is the consequence of these events.

A positive element of this alternative is the development of socialist democracy on a scale which seemed to be merely a utopian idea a half-year ago. It represents the building of the socialist structure in our country as a logical and consistent thread in the Polish historical process, with all of its special characteristics. It is the strengthening of the Polish state as an element of the socialist community and the growth of its significance in this community.

And the negative element? Here the terms "instability," "anarchy" and the "dismantling of authority" serve us well. These are terms not easily understood by all, and because they are imprecise they are in some sense ambiguous. To tell the truth, they are often used as euphemisms. I am of the opinion that one should call a spade a spade.

I am vigorously opposed to allusions made to the events of the end of the 18th century not only because these allusions are the result of a seriously mistaken view of external conditions, but above all because, regardless of their intent, they serve to drive a wedge between us and our allies. In seeking historical parallels, I would choose a period several decades earlier, when the dark night of Sarmatianism was responsible for the fact that "Poland stands in anarchy." For the second negative element of the alternative is just such anarchy and all of its gloomy consequences. In seeking references to the present situation I would select the term "Lebanonization" ["libanizacja,"] or the slipping of the country into a state of such internal agitation and chaos as to allow the interests of groups to rule over the interest of the state and to cause the nation to cease to be the landlord of his country.



I do not consider this gloomy picture to be a direct threat, an imminent danger by any means. On the contrary, I firmly believe that the development of the internal situation will be successful, that we will manage to implement those tasks which make up the positive element of the alternative. On the other hand, I believe the setting forth of this alternative to be an indispensable element of a sober, realistic estimate of the situation.

I am optimistic, despite the fact that January has brought us pressures which we certainly could have averted, and that the perspective of the coming weeks is not free of such pressures. I base my optimism on two qualities characterizing the thought and progress of the contemporary Pole, whether he lives in the city or in the country, whether he works physically or mentally, whether he is trusting or skeptical. These are a deep sense of social justice ensuring the socialist character of the changes taking place in our country, and a steadfast, burning patriotism which places the interest of the fatherland above all other interests and which sees that there where the good of the fatherland is at stake "Pole will always see eye to eye with Pole."

Polish patriotism manifests itself variously--in love of the native culture and in taking up arms, in normal everyday work and in heroic dedication. I think that today it should manifest itself in a new value, hitherto rarely remarked and cherished. What we need most today is patriotic rationality.

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## ROMANIA

### COMMENTS OF FOREIGN TRADE UNION DELEGATES ON WORKERS DEMOCRACY

Bucharest MUNCA in Romanian 13 Mar 81 p 8

[Article by Florin Pantelimonescu: "Workers Democracy and the Participation of the Broad Masses in Economic and Social Affairs - A Problem of Maximum Current Importance"]

[Text] For 3 days (5 to 7 March 1981), at the initiative of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania, there was an international conference in Bucharest on the subject: "Worker Democracy and the Role and Rights of Trade Unions in Ensuring the Participation of Workers in the Management of Economic and Social Affairs and in the Improvement of Workers' Working and Living Conditions." Trade Union representatives from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Union, Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Spain and Romania participated, as did invited guests from the Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Justice, "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, Academy of Social and Political Science, Union of Communist Youth, Association of International Law and International Relations, Legislative Council and the Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations. During the conference, the participants were the guests of the Ready-made Clothing and Knitwear Enterprise in Bucharest, where they met with representatives of the workers council and the trade union committee, looking into the specific and concrete means by which workers democracy is achieved.

This important international trade union event constituted a good opportunity to directly understand the Romanian concept, as theoretically and practically outlined by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the growing role of the broad working masses in the entire management process, from top to bottom, of economic, social and political activities, the primary significance of broadening and furthering workers democracy in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and of advancing the country towards communism. In many of the encounters of the Romanian delegation's representatives, as well as during the meetings at the Ready-made Clothing and Knitwear Enterprise, it was felt that the move to implement the new economic-financial mechanism and the principles of worker self-administration and self-management gave to workers democracy, as well as the workers' participation, in the affairs in the enterprises, in the process of continuing to raise the professional and technical-economic level of the workers, technicians and engineers, and the improvement

of the workers' working and social-cultural conditions, a new, more profound content, signifying with symbolic power the concerns for actually achieving workers rights and freedoms and the role played by the working class and all our people in socialist society.

At the same time, this meeting, one of the important actions organized in anticipation of the Congress of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania, reaffirmed through all its activities the constant concern of our trade unions to develop ties of friendship and collaboration, in the spirit of our party's and state's policies, with the trade unions in all the socialist countries, in the developing nations and in the other countries of the world. The conference used this broad exchange of experiences and opinions as an efficient means of uniting the efforts of the trade unions, regardless of their affiliation, and all the workers in the struggle to defend the fundamental interests of the workers against employers' and monopolies' exploitation and restriction of workers' rights and of uniting the broad masses, in general, in the struggle organized and jointly carried out to eliminate the causes of unemployment, to provide job security and to improve living conditions. Moreover, the participants broadly expressed and embraced the idea that this meeting, in discussing such a subject of major and importance and current value, offered the opportunity for a broad exchange of opinions and ideas and helped in providing a better understanding of the specific problems regarding workers democracy and participation and of the means through which the trade unions and the overall trade union movement can work in the sense of expanding its achievements and obtaining new successes.

The constructive spirit of the proceedings of the conference, the competence and number of discussions, and the diversity of the problems and concerns of the trade unions in the participating countries additionally confirmed the fruitful nature of the meetings and the fact that, although we live in countries with different social-political and economic orders, the problems of democracy and participation vitally interest trade unions and workers everywhere. This is even more true since the exacerbation of the arms race and the worsening of the economic crisis mark a noticeable narrowing of these rights in the Western capitalist countries. Despite the broad protestations by trade unions and workers, as noted by the representatives present at the conference from France, Greece and Spain, unemployment and inflation is being maintained at high levels; capital investments, especially in the civil production branches, are continually being restricted; work is being intensified, concomitantly with the reduction of activities of certain broad categories of personnel and a corresponding decrease in wages, and so forth.

Naturally, the conference did not pretend to offer universally valid solutions for the problems discussed. The trade union representatives from Romanian, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries present here, as well as the trade unions from the Western European countries that sent representatives to Bucharest, were unanimous in the evaluation that the solutions to the complex problems of workers democracy, as well as to finding the best

forms and means for worker participation in the resolution of economic and social problems and in the improvement of working and living conditions, depend upon the specific nature of each country, upon the immediate objectives and upon the perspectives of the workers struggle in each country. It is even more important to take such a principle into consideration since in the contemporary world many theoreticians are trying to justify bourgeois democracy and its means of expression and to direct the attention of the trade unions and the workers away from the true problems confronting contemporary capitalist society.

In this context, it is, therefore, basic to achieve a unity of all trade unions, regardless of their affiliation, and all progressive forces in the struggle so that workers democracy and participation can constitute a real and efficient means to defend the interests and aspirations of the workers and the broad popular masses. This is, moreover, what was proposed and achieved by the conference in Bucharest. In this regard, the statements made to our newspaper by numerous trade union representatives from abroad present at the meeting are significant. In referring to the utility of the exchange of views that characterized the conference, Buza Marton, the director of the Institute of Trade Union Research of the Central Council of Trade Unions in Hungary, among others, stressed that "the proceedings of the conference, the visit to the Ready-made Clothing and Knitwear Enterprise and the discussions held pointed out that in Romania workers democracy is strongly expressed, which gave us the opportunity to make a comparison with our own experiences and to draw many conclusions." Christakis Vanezos, a secretary of the Pan-Cypriot Labor Federation, told us: "Taking part in this conference, I found a real unity between theory and practice. We were able to verify this on our visit to the Ready-made Clothing and Knitwear Enterprise, where we had meetings and discussions with the trade union committee and the workers council. For us, it is absolutely clear: in Romania, the trade unions and workers take part in the management of the enterprise and in the making of decisions concerning their work and their lives. These are advances for which great class struggles are still taking place in the capitalist countries. I think that each of us agrees that in the capitalist countries workers democracy, as well as participation in resolving economic and social problems, have a much more formal and declarative nature. Your successes make us happy and we wish you new success." After presenting the experiences of the Central Council of the General Conference of Labor in Greece, as well as the objectives it is pursuing in the present, with regards to the problems discussed Catsoulis Evangelos, a member of the Central Council, stressed that "the initiatives of the trade unions in Romania can be considered a new and significant contribution to the building of a broader collaboration between the trade unions of different countries. Moreover, we wish to initiate a Balkan Trade Union Conference which, by discussing specific problems, can be at the same time a bridge towards understanding, collaboration and peace." Vicente Campos, a member of the International Secretariat and a deputy secretary of the international section of the Trade Union Confederation of Workers Councils, told us: "The encounters with the Romanian representatives, as well as the other participants, covering a very diverse subject, show the successes and



efforts that are continuing to be made by the trade unions in Romania to further the participation of the workers in the resolution of economic and social problems, and their efforts to spread the experience and valuable conclusions everywhere in the Romanian enterprises. This practice will make the results obtained constantly better." Stoian Vlaicov, a doctor docent in philosophy at the Institute of Scientific Research in Social Problems "Gheorghe Dimitrov" of the Central Council of the Union of Trade Unions in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, stated: "This international trade union conference organized by the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania constitutes, without a doubt, a useful and very current initiative. Among the common forms of worker participation in management, forms characteristic of the socialist countries, some specific examples were also revealed, according to the specific conditions of each country. Precisely these specific examples show the creative application of this principle, as well as the increased role of the trade unions. In our meetings, representatives from certain trade unions in France, Italy, Spain, Greece and Cyprus participated and expressed their points of view, which gave the discussions a more interesting and deeper nature."

This is why the initiative of organizing this conference on such a theme of great significance and current value constitutes an efficient contribution in explaining, clarifying and practically furthering certain structural and innovative aspects that are of vital interest to the trade union movement everywhere, a movement profoundly engaged in the struggle to acquire new democratic rights and to democratize social-political and economic affairs in general in the interest of broadly promoting the aspirations and constructive talents of the working class and all workers in the process of updating society. At the same time, it also once again validated the utility of exchanges of experiences and opinions as a means of mutual understanding and strengthening relations for collaboration between trade unions and, furthermore, as a factor in achieving unity in the struggle for the broad affirmation of workers democracy and the workers' right to participate in the management of economic and social affairs and in the improvement of the workers' working and living conditions.

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